Assisted Performance in Reading Comprehension Strategies with Non-English Proficient Students

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Major differences have been found in the reading comprehension strategies used by good and poor readers. Good readers are able to employ a variety of strategies which assist in text comprehension while poor readers do not use those strategies or do not do so with the same frequency (Garner & Kraus, 1981-1982; Paris & Myers, 1981). Poor readers also use fewer strategies and use them less often than good readers. Research has further indicated that comprehension fostering strategies used by more successful students can be taught to poor readers with the assistance of adults and peers (Palincsar & Brown, 1984; Paris, Cross, & Lipson, 1984; Paris & Jacobs, 1984). However very little research

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attention has been given to the development of comprehension strategies with low-achieving non-English proficient students--especially those from Spanish-speaking backgrounds (Reyes, 1987). Instructional perspectives which have stressed isolated drill and practice activities such as letter-sound relationships and word pronunciation in the student's second language have often neglected the development of comprehension strategies in either language (Allington, 1991; Hernandez, 1991; Rowan & Guthrie, 1989). Two areas of instructional interest seem particularly relevant for these students: (a) strategy instruction through assisted performance using the student's primary language, and (b) culturally sensitive instruction through schema activation activity.

Background

During the last decade the theoretical perspective of the Soviet sociohistorical psychologist L. S. Vygotsky has gained increasing use and discussion in the field of education. Of particular interest is the use of Vygotsky's formulations to examine and explain the school performance of language minority students (Diaz, Moll, & Mehan, 1986; Moll, 1989; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Trueba, 1989).

Central in the Vygotskian approach to learning (1978, 1986) is the idea that interactions (activity) among people, especially between adults and children, are essential for learning and development (Wertsch, 1981). Through social interaction children are exposed to a particular kind of help from adults, and they "eventually come to use the means of guidance initially provided by others to direct their own problem solving behaviors" (Moll & Diaz, 1985, p. 129-128). What students learn to do through assisted social-interaction (assisted performance) with adults or more able peers they will be able to do by themselves. That is, learning traverses from a social (interpsychological) context to a personal (intrapsychological) context. Reading intervention approaches such as those developed by the Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP) in Hawaii (Calfee et al., 1981; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988), the work of Palincsar & Brown (1984), Palincsar (1987a), and the work of Zetlin & Gallimore (1983) have lent empirical support to the importance of assisted performance in reading.

Reciprocal teaching as assisted performance

The work of Palincsar and Brown (1984) and Palincsar (1987a, 1987b) has

been particularly instructive in the development of an instructional approach focusing on reading comprehension and strategy learning. This reciprocalteaching approach has been influenced by Vygotsky's (1978) developmental theory. A key feature of this theory is that development is mediated by expert scaffolding. In reciprocal-teaching the teacher uses scaffolding techniques to demonstrate and use the specific reading strategies the student is supposed to learn, e.g., question generating, summarizing, and predicting, while the student is basically a spectator and novice responsible for little of the work. As students are assisted and become more competent in the use of the various comprehension strategies they also begin to assume more leadership responsibility. That is, individual students model and assist other students in using the comprehension strategies. Over time, as the students become more competent and are able to perform the various strategies, the instructional focus shifts from teachercentered to student-centered learning. What has been modeled (between teacher and student or student and student) mediates the internalization of knowledge by the learner. Thus, reading (as an activity) becomes a system of social and cultural interactions established between a guiding adult and the developing student. Through this process of assisted-performance (Duran, 1988; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988) students are able to carry out work independently which they previously could only do with the assistance of others.

While reciprocal-teaching has been shown to have positive results with poor readers (Palincsar & Brown, 1984) little systematic work has been reported using this approach with Spanish-speaking non and limited-English proficient students. The exception is Padron's (1985, 1987) work where she has reported positive results using a reciprocal-teaching approach for comprehension training with bilingual students. While these efforts are encouraging, the results are tenuous. First, in these particular studies the students were classified as being bilingual based on their participation in a bilingual education program, not on any measures of language proficiency. Second, the language of instruction was English. Consequently, not knowing the relative language proficiency of the students and the use of a second language as the medium of instruction confounds the effectiveness of the reciprocal-teaching approach in these studies. However, the very lack of a body of knowledge in this area calls for research efforts which take students' relative language proficiency and use of the native language into account.

Culturally sensitive schema

Reading research has extensively pointed to the importance of learners' prior

knowledge as being essential for learning to occur. One perspective of prior knowledge is expressed as clusters of knowledge or schemata (Anderson, 1977; Bartlett, 1932). According to schema theory, learning involves relating new knowledge to relevant prior knowledge (Anderson, Reynolds, Schallert, & Goetz, 1977; Rumelhart & Ortony, 1977), and then the prior knowledge structure is activated (Anderson & Pearson, 1984). A schema then is an "abstract knowledge structure derived from repeated experiences with objects and events" (Garner, 1987, p. 3) which must be activated in order for learners to comprehend text.

Schema also contains a set of expectations which are important for the interpretation of new information (Rumelhart, 1980). This is an important consideration for language minority students since the set of expectations about particular objects and events expressed in text may not be culturally sensitive to the actual experiences of these students. That is, text that refers to experiences such as getting an allowance, going camping, or going to the high school prom may not be part of the students' life experiences. Thus, the interpretation provided by their prior experiences may not make new knowledge comprehensible. Instruction which does not consider the cultural basis of prior knowledge (culturally sensitive schema) may not be activating knowledge structures the student has experience in or is familiar with.

A line of research which has relevance to the concept of culturally sensitive schema is the work which has been carried out at the Kemehameha Early Education Program (KEEP) in Hawaii (Au, 1980; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988). The KEEP program has used ethnographic information to develop culturally relevant instructional activities in reading.

KEEP uses a culturally congruent speech event (talk-story) as part of the reading lesson sequence. Talk-story is a stylized speech event that is culturally appropriate for native Hawaiian adults and children to tell as stories. A story is told (narrated) by more than one person, and the "speech of the narrator is also overlapped by audience responses" (Calfee et al., 1981, p. 29). Talk-story is a nonsequential, overlapping multiple-response method of sharing and telling a story. This is distinct from most school reading methods which require sequential turn taking, hand raising, or being called on by the teacher to respond. But, because talk-story is a more culturally sensitive approach for narrative discourse it has been incorporated into the KEEP experience-text-relate (E-T-R) reading lesson format.

Prior to reading, the student's experiences relative to the story content are activated through oral discussion. It is during this experience (E) phase of the sequence that talk-story is used to bring students' experiences to the forefront.

Next the text (T) is read by the students and then related (R) to their experiences with the assistance of the teacher. Thus, the students' experiences are discussed prior to reading, and then the text content is related to those experiences after reading. The success of the KEEP reading program has been attributed, in part, to the cultural congruence of lessons and the change in focus from phonics instruction to comprehension. In this regard, using instructional strategies that activate culturally sensitive schemata would seem to be necessary for any reading comprehension approaches directed toward language minority students.

What the above research and instructional efforts point to are instructional approaches that are culturally sensitive and assist students through the development of specific comprehension strategies. These lines of research and the large body of research showing the importance of using the students' primary language indicate the following: (a) assistance through social-interaction must be provided and focus on reading comprehension strategies, (b) instruction should be culturally sensitive, and (c) the language the students understand best should be used. These three research based considerations have been incorporated into the present study.

Purpose

The focus of this investigation was to examine two questions related to the teaching of comprehension reading strategies to Spanish proficient students: (a) To what extent would strategy instruction using the students' primary language improve reading comprehension in that language? and (b) How could non-English proficient students demonstrate use of strategies learned in Spanish while attempting to read in their second language? A modified reciprocal-teaching approach was used to teach students question generating, summarizing, and predicting strategies in their native language.

Methodology

Participants

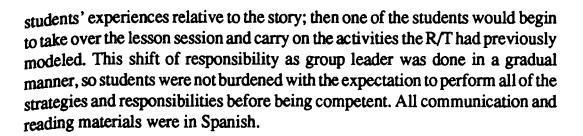
Seven Spanish-speaking, non-English proficient students attending summer school, prior to entering the seventh grade, participated in this study. Students were classified as non-English proficient based on their scores on the Language Assessment Scales, levels I and II (De Avila & Duncan, 1977, 1978) and were considered by their teacher to have minimal decoding skills in English. However,

on the reading section of the Spanish version of the California Test of Basic Skills (CTBS), the group had a mean grade equivalent of 6.26. Thus, the participants were considered non-English proficient but almost at grade level in Spanish reading. All of the students reported that they had received reading instruction in Spanish and had also participated in some English as a second language (ESL) lessons during the regular school year. The average age of the students was 12.8 years, and all had been in the United States fewer than 19 months. Their parents were employed in low paying service and agricultural jobs e.g., house cleaner, waiter, nursery worker, lemon picker. Four of the subjects were female, and three were male; six of the students were born in Mexico and one in Guatemala.

Instructional approach

The instructional approach used to teach the various comprehension strategies is considered a schema-activated assisted-performance (SAAP) approach. That is, the reciprocal-teaching form of assisted-performance has been modified to include discussion which activates students' prior-knowledge before reading the text. The first four sessions were entirely teacher centered. That is, the researcher as teacher (R/T) explained and modeled the comprehension strategies and how the lesson sequence would be conducted. The R/T as group leader would begin every lesson by reminding the group that the purpose of the reading was to comprehend the story. The R/T would then begin discussion of students' experiences related to the story content and introduce new vocabulary. For example, one of the stories was about a family on vacation and the time they spent at the beach. The R/T initiated discussion about the students' experiences at the beach and vacations they may have had. The students were then given a monitoring check sheet listing comprehension strategies: question generating, summarizing, predicting. As students silently read the story they were to monitor and check which strategies they had used (see Appendix A). After the students had read the story the group leader, in this case the R/T, would frame questions for group response, summarize parts of the text for group response, prompt students to predict events in the story, and clarify any ambiguities in the story (see lesson sequence in Appendix B). The purpose of these early sessions was to model the use of the strategies and the responsibilities of the group leader without requiring students to perform any of the behaviors presented to them.

During the next six sessions the R/T began to shift the focus of instruction to the students. That is, the R/T would begin each session by drawing out the



Measures

Daily story comprehension

After each of the six instructional sessions the students were given nine comprehension questions in Spanish to answer about the story. These daily questions were developed according to the criteria set forth by Pearson and Johnson (1978) and used by Palincsar and Brown (1984): text explicit, text implicit, and script implicit questions.

Text explicit answers could be found explicitly somewhere in the text. In a story about a young boy building and entering a car in the soap box derby, the question was, what color was the boy's new racing car? The answer in the text is the boy's new racing car was green and white. On the other hand, text implicit responses meant that the answer had to be inferred from a specified area or section of text such as a paragraph, specific page, or part of the text: Why did the cars have to be in such good mechanical condition and driven with such care? Student responses would have to have included reasons such as tournament requirements and safety and racing efficiency factors that were discussed in the beginning section of the text. The last series of questions were also implicit but required an understanding of the entire text or (script) in order to make an appropriate response: Why was it important that the boy build the racing car by himself? Here the students would have to have included reasons such as developing individual initiative, following directions, completing a desired task, and making himself happy. But, in order to respond to this question the students needed to have an understanding of the entire story and not just a part of it. The students generally took about ten to twelve minutes to answer the daily comprehension questions. Also, each day the R/T would bring in a line graph showing the previous day's group average and discuss the trend they were establishing. This way the students knew how they had done, as a group, on a daily basis.

These questions were then scored by a bilingual (Spanish/English) graduate student who had been trained to assess student responses. The scorer did not know the purpose of the study, who the students were, their age, or grade level. The scorer only knew that the students were Spanish-speakers, and the student response sheets had only a code identifier but no names.

Pre-post assessment: Spanish comprehension

In order to establish baseline data each student was individually pretested on Spanish reading comprehension. Two sets of 9 questions were used to assess student comprehension about two stories from the Nuestros Sueños Spanish Reading Keys series, level 4, The Economy Co. (1980). These fourth grade materials were chosen so that the students would not encounter great difficulty in decoding the stories. The Spanish comprehension questions were developed in the same manner as the daily comprehension questions: Six questions were text explicit, six text implicit, and six script implicit. At the end of the instructional sessions the students were posttested using the same materials and procedures. There were 23 days between each assessment session. The scoring procedure was the same as that used with the daily comprehension questions.

Strategy use: English text

Also on a pre-post basis each student was given two stories to read from the *Inside and Out* reading series by Allyn and Bacon, Inc. (1978). These first grade stories were selected because the students were not able to read in English, but they had successful experience with Spanish text. Thus, attempting to read these stories in English would not be traumatic, and yet it would enable each student to try to read and demonstrate use of the reading strategies. The first story "The Coconut Game" was seven pages long with six pages of text and pictures. The students were instructed to read silently and to do the best they could. If they didn't understand something they were to skip that part and continue reading. After the students had indicated that they had attempted to read the story, the R/T prompted students to demonstrate use of the comprehension strategies.

The second story, "The Fat Cat," was three pages long and had pictures on every page. This time the students were instructed to attempt to read the story aloud. After each student had attempted to read the story they were all prompted by the R/T to use the comprehension strategies i.e., generate questions, summarize the story, and make predictions about the story. The prompts and the student

responses were in Spanish and tape recorded for transcription.

In summary, each student was pretested on Spanish comprehension, tested daily after each session, and posttested to ascertain changes in Spanish reading comprehension. To ascertain how the students could demonstrate strategy use they were assessed on a pre and post basis while attempting to read text in their second language.

Results

Since the purpose of this study was to (a) ascertain the extent to which strategy instruction in Spanish would improve reading comprehension, and (b) to assess how non-English proficient students could demonstrate strategy use while attempting to read English text, the results will be presented in that order. First, the daily and the pre-post results will be reported as indicators of student improvement in Spanish reading comprehension. Second, three student transcripts will be presented which show how students demonstrated strategy use with English text.

Daily story comprehension: Spanish

After each of the six instructional sessions the students responded to nine comprehension questions about the Spanish text they had just read and discussed. Nine points were the maximum possible. On the first day of the daily comprehension questions the students had an average of 4.5 questions correct, and on the sixth day they had an average of 5.9 correct. This growth of 1.5 correct responses or 25% suggests that the students were able to increase their average scores over the six sessions. Figure 1 shows the trend for the daily comprehension means.

Pre-post story comprehension: Spanish

Results of the pre-post assessment indicated that the students progressed from a preinstruction mean of 3.8 correct responses to a postinstruction mean of 6.0. The Wilcoxon matched-pairs test indicated that the pre-post differences were statistically significant at the (p < .001) level. This observed growth of 2.2 points or 37% suggests that over the intervention period the students significantly improved their comprehension when assessed with text explicit, text implicit, and script implicit questions. Students made positive gains between the pre-

assessment and the postassessment phases on the number of correct responses. For example, the student with the lowest first day mean of 3.5 had a final day average of 6.0, and the student with the highest first day score went from a mean of 6.5 to 8.5. This pattern of results is consistent with the daily comprehension scores presented earlier. Figure 2 illustrates the pre-post and daily means for the group.

Figure 1. Daily Mean Scores

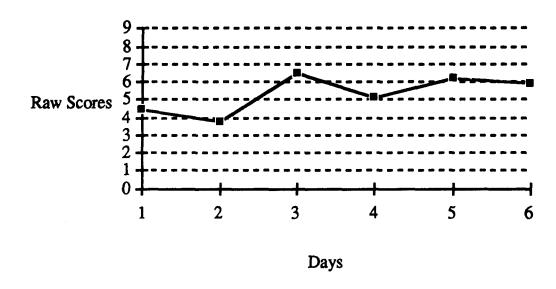
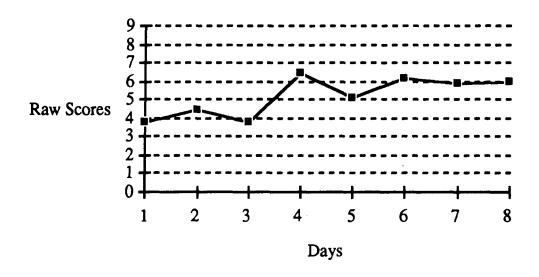


Figure 2. Pre-Post and Daily Mean Scores



Strategy use: English text

Transcriptions of the strategy use sessions revealed that all of the students were able to demonstrate use of the comprehension strategies even when they could not decode the English text aloud. When asked in Spanish, the students were able to generate questions, summarize the stories, and predict future events in Spanish. For example, one of the students generated the following questions during post-assessment after being unable to generate any questions during the preassessment session; all examples have been translated to English. This is from the story "The Fat Cat."

R/T: If you were the teacher, and I was the student what would you ask me about the story?

S: Why did the cat go to the lady's house?
Why did the lady give the cat some soup?
Why did the cat get so fat when he ate the soup?

Here the student was able to generate questions even though she had no comprehension of the story from attempting to read it. In the actual text the cat was already in the house, the old lady did not give him soup (she asked him to watch the soup), and the cat got fat when he ate the soup pot and the old lady. So, even when minimal comprehension of the story was absent the student was able to generate questions that seemed to her to fit into the story. Another student demonstrated use of the summary strategy in this comparison between his pre and postassessment sessions. This is from "The Coconut Game."

Preassessment:

An elephant fell into a trap and later a monkey saw him and tried to get him out with a rope but the rope broke...the elephant was very big. Then later he went to get more monkeys and they brought coconuts and they threw them into the hold to fill it up and that way the elephant could get out.

Postassessment:

The elephant is inside of a very big hole and the monkey wants to help him get out of there and he sees that the monkey is too small and can't get him out. First he gives him a ladder, but he breaks the "things" on the ladder because he's so heavy. Later he ties him from (here) and he pulls, but because the monkey is small and doesn't have enough strength he can't pull him up. And later the monkey asks the other monkeys for help and the monkeys throw coconuts into the hole and that way the elephant moves up and up because there are a lot of coconuts and they keep throwing in more and more and he keeps moving up and the elephant steps on them and the elephant moves up until the hole is really filled with coconuts and he's out.

For a student who was not able to read the English text aloud, the second summary is factually more accurate and detailed than the first. In the story the monkey first used a ladder, then a rope in his attempt to get the elephant out of the hole. In the preassessment session the student did not mention the ladder at all. In the second summary there is more detail about how the elephant moved up as it crushed the coconuts the monkeys threw in. In essence, during the post-assessment session, the student was able to provide a more accurate and detailed chronological rendition of the major events in the story.

Another student who had difficulty predicting during the preassessment session was able to produce the following predications during postassessment. This is also from "The Coconut Game" after the elephant has climbed out of the hole.

R/T: What do you think is going to happen?

S: I think he's going to thank him for helping him out of the hole. Or else the elephant would have died without food.

R/T: What else do you think will happen?

S: The elephant probably went to eat his food because he was so hungry from not eating.

This student was able to make logical predictions about the story. It is feasible that the elephant would thank the monkey for helping him and that the elephant would eat after this experience. However, as the assessment sessions progressed questions about the sources of the content knowledge began to emerge.

The students, as a group, were able to demonstrate use of the three comprehension strategies: question generating, summary, and prediction. They were able to do so when they were prompted and allowed to respond in their more proficient language. There was basically no difference in the way the students demonstrated use of the strategies during this session and during the daily instructional sessions that occurred with Spanish text. That is, they were able to demonstrate strategy use in Spanish even when their understanding of the English text was inadequate or at best questionable.

When this phenomenon, strategy use without comprehension, was observed, the students were asked how they knew what the stories were about if they couldn't read the English text. Half of the students responded that the pictures in the text were their sources of information. As one student said:

R/T: What did you do when you couldn't read the story?

S: I just looked at the picture.

Another student reported:

R/T: When you were reading the story how did you know what was

happening?

S: The pictures, like when the elephant went into the hole and when they

were throwing the coconuts and when the elephant got out.

This unexpected result adds a different dimension to the question of strategy use. The results indicate that these students are able to use the comprehension strategies in text-dependent and text-independent situations. That is, when the students are asked to read in Spanish they are able to use the text and pictures for understanding content; when they try to read in English they use the pictures as their only source of story content.

In summary, the results suggest that a modified reciprocal-teaching approach with Spanish proficient students enhanced first language comprehension and enabled students to use the strategies even in contexts where they were not able to read text in their second language. However, they were able to use story pictures as sources for story content and chronology in order to demonstrate strategy use.

Discussion and Conclusions

The results point to the central role that primary language instruction can play in improving reading comprehension and in teaching non-English proficient students comprehension strategies. In this case the student's primary language (Spanish) was the channel through which comprehension reading strategies were communicated, used, and made part of the student's reading repertoire. Had English been used as the medium of instruction great difficulty might have occurred in the oral interactions and in the reading of text.

The modified reciprocal-teaching approach seems to have promise in assisting non-English proficient students with the development of comprehension strategies. This instructional approach appears to set up certain conditions

conducive to learning for Spanish proficient students: (a) an instructional context where reading comprehension using the student's first language is the primary focus, (b) a context where adult modeling and assisted group activity precede individual performance, (c) a context where students take on greater responsibility for their learning, and (d) where social interaction is based on students' prior experience and text content to provide appropriate contexts for reading comprehension instruction. These conditions are important for increasing student comprehension and providing environments where second language learners can engage in strategy learning. These conditions form part of a socialization process which focuses on comprehension, assistance, and responsibility, and uses student background knowledge to enhance reading comprehension.

A key implication from these findings is the importance of establishing instructional contexts that are conducive to setting up the above conditions. Too often instructional approaches that focus on isolated skills and sub-skills underestimate the ability of ESL students and assume that they cannot engage in advanced English literacy activities until they master lower order basic skills such as decoding. The "intellectual level of lessons, therefore, is constrained accordingly" (Moll, 1989, P. 58). In situations where primary language instruction is not possible strategy instruction can take place even before the student has a high level of decoding skills in the second language. This indicates that comprehension strategy learning can begin early in a student's instructional career as part of whole activities and not in a piecemeal fashion. Reading practices can also be modified, so language minority students can learn comprehension fostering and monitoring strategies in their primary language while developing the necessary proficiency in English. The overreliance on isolated skills instruction has kept Spanish-speaking students from the activity of comprehension in reading. "Comprehension proceeds from the top down as well as from the bottom up" (Spiro, Bruce, & Brewer, 1980, p. i). What these students have shown is a tremendous potential for learning when appropriate sociocultural contexts are used for reading comprehension instruction.

This study has certain limitations that must be acknowledged. First, the sample size is quite small (n=7), and generalizations are of limited value at this time. Second, the pre-post measures for Spanish comprehension and strategy use were the same for each testing session. The use of identical pre-post measures might account for increases in student scores. Thus, the results of this investigation might be seen as pointing to possibilities rather than definitive findings.

Future studies have the opportunity to investigate key questions related to

strategy instruction and language minority students. One possible avenue might be ethnographic work assessing the degree and description of comprehension strategies used by groups of students in various types of interactional settings. Another possibility has to be an extended study of the duration and transfer of comprehension strategies across content areas. Finally, greater attention must be focused on the development of metacognitive awareness and control of comprehension strategies for non-English proficient and limited English proficient students. Future research possibilities certainly indicate exciting work in store for anyone interested in these questions and issues.

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Appendix A: Strategy checklists (Spanish)

Fecha:	Nombre:	
PUNTOS PARA (COMPRENDER LA LECTU	RA
Nombre de la Historia o Cuento		
1. Preguntas Sobre:		
La idea principal o de mayor importancia	t]
Detalles de la idea principal	[]
2. Resumen Del Texto:		
Oración de tema o idea prin	cipal;	
En el texto	[]
Resumen o Sumario	[]
3. Pronosticar:		
¿Qué va a pasar o ocurir a lo siguiente, en el futuro?	[]
¿Por qué?	[]
4. Clarificación:		
¿Qué no comprendi?		

Appendix A: Strategy checklists (English)

Date:Name:	Name:			
POINTS FOR READING COMPREHENSI	ON			
Name of the				
Story or Tale				
1. Questions About:				
The main idea				
or most important idea[]			
Details about the main idea[]			
2. Text Summary:				
Topic sentence;				
In the text]			
Summary of text]			
3. Predict:				
What's going to happen next, in the future?]			
Why will it happen?]			
4. Clarification:				
What didn't Lunderstand?				

Appendix B: Daily lesson sequence Spanish/English-Comprehension

Experience, Monitor, Reciprocal-Teaching Lesson Sequence

T = Teacher, S = Student Leader, Ss = Students

- T/S 1. Discuss shared lesson goal (comprehension).
- T/S 2. Discuss student experiences related to text content and introduce new vocabulary.
- T/S 3. Review/remind Ss of self-monitoring script.
- Ss 4. Students silently read text segment(s).
- T/S 5. Leader frames questions for group response (Preguntas).
- T/S 6. Leader summarizes text segment for group response (Resumen/Sumario).
- All 7. Participants note when text or discussion needs clarification (Clarificar).
- T/S 8. Leader prompts/solicits **predictions** to lead into new text segment (**Predecir/Pronosticar**)...use of titles/headings/inference.
- T/S 9. Leader summarizes entire text, generates final questions, clarifies any ambiguities, makes/solicits possible predictions.